

## BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION -- REPORT FROM LA PAZ

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 17

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1952

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

# SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CONTESTS NEW POLICE-STATE LAW IN MICHIGAN

## Freedom of All At Stake in Mich.

By Farrell Dobbs  
SWP Presidential Candidate

DETROIT, April 22 — Without evidence, without a hearing, without even making specific charges, Attorney General Millard has convicted the Socialist Workers Party under the Trucks law of seeking to change the government "by unconstitutional means."

On no other grounds than a "memo from the Attorney General," Secretary of State Alger has ruled us off the ballot, denying us our constitutional right to the traditional democratic process.

Clearly, it is not the Socialist Workers Party but our accusers who are subverting the constitution. It is not our socialist program, but the Trucks law that is unconstitutional.

Legal counsel has advised us that the Trucks law does not apply to the Socialist Workers Party. We are preparing court action to prevent use of this unconstitutional law against us.

Like all the American people, we have inalienable democratic rights under the constitution. We don't intend to let any policeman or machine politician make us stoop-pigeons or political zombies. We will defend our constitutional right to think for ourselves, and to say what we think in the public forum.

The real aim of the Trucks law was made plain by State Elections Director Frey, who said in a press statement on April 16: "In view of the impending law, we must see that no organization inclined toward socialism is given a place on the ballot."

Unemployment compensation, old-age pensions, national health plans, equal rights for Negroes — all such social demands have been labeled "socialistic" by reactionaries like the sponsors of the Trucks law.

Under that law organizations supporting such demands will be attacked next, their members persecuted, their leaders threatened with imprisonment.

Strikers will be subject to prosecution for "sabotage" and a sentence of 20 years in prison if perishables should rot or a furnace cool too rapidly during a strike.

Teachers will stand in fear of persecution if they encourage critical thought in the student body. Ignorance and prejudice will rule the schools.

Refusal to testify against yourself will constitute proof of guilt under the law. Refusal to be a stoop-pigeon against others will be punishable by imprisonment for 10 years.

The American people don't like stoop-pigeons. They don't like to have policemen prying into their personal lives and exploring their minds. They won't permit a law to stand that threatens them with jail for advocating social progress.

But these are the very things that threaten all the people if the first victims of the Trucks law are not vigorously defended.

For these reasons we ask all who believe in freedom of thought and social progress to come to the aid of the Socialist Workers Party which is now being persecuted under that infamous law.

For these same reasons the Socialist Workers Party will help to defend Communist Party victims of the Trucks law, despite our irreconcilable political hostility toward the Stalinist movement.

## ELOISE BOOTH

Eloise Booth, former Pittsburgh organizer of the Socialist Workers Party and for several years an alternate member of the SWP National Committee, died suddenly, presumably of a heart attack, in Pittsburgh on April 21. This unexpected and tragic news comes as we go to press.

Comrade Eloise was known and loved by thousands of workers in the California longshore and cannery industries and the steel and coal mining areas of Western Pennsylvania whose union struggles she had aided. She gained national distinction in Oct. 1946 by her fighting attack on the House Un-American Activities Committee when that witch-hunt body tried to grill her about her support to and assistance of the Pittsburgh power strike.

Comrade Eloise joined the SWP in the early 1930s. She became one of its shining examples of the type of militant woman proletarian organizers who will play a front-rank role in the coming American socialist revolution.

Her body has been shipped to



"In Our Hands There Lies the Power"



## "Halt U.S. War Drive!" Appeal World's Workers on May Day

May Day 1952 is being celebrated everywhere under the banner of opposition to the war preparations and provocations of U.S. Big Business and its political hirelings.

This opposition of the vast majority of the world's people to the war drive of American imperialism is the most compelling fact today. Whether under reformist and social-democratic, Stalinist or revolutionary socialist leadership, the workers everywhere outside the U.S. cry out as if with one voice against Washington's war program.

Not only in the countries torn from the capitalist orbit — the Soviet Union, China, Eastern Europe, North Korea — do we hear fear and hatred of U.S. militarism voiced. Suspicion of U.S. aims and hostility to the U.S. sweep across all southern Asia — India, Burma, Indonesia — and spread like a tide across the Middle East and North Africa.

In not a single country of Western Europe do the workers support rearmament and Eisenhower's "European Army." The workers of West Germany, main bastion of Washington's West European "fortress," are bitterly opposed to rearmament. The opposition is no less bitter in Great Britain, reflected in the big leftward shift of the Labor Party membership.

But, unfortunately, on this May Day most of the American labor movement is out of step with the forward march of progressive mankind. The American workers are cut off from the main stream of humanity which is seeking to avert the aggression and war of the American plutocracy. It is time for American labor to stand in the very forefront of the in-

ternational working class struggle, as it did in 1886 when May Day was born in the battle of the American workers for the eight-hour day.

If the American workers appear apathetic or indifferent to the fate of U.S. imperialism has ordained for the world, it is not because they are eager supporters of capitalism's war aims and program. Repeated national polls have shown them to be opposed to the Korean war and distrustful of Washington's aims in the Far East.

### CHECKED BY LEADERS

But the American workers have been cowed and intimidated to a certain extent by the witch hunt which has pervaded every walk of American life and every American institution. And they receive no encouragement from the official labor leadership to resist the ever fiercer attacks on their rights and liberties. Instead, this leadership has tied the unions to the State Department and the war machine and has joined the pack yapping and snapping at all who dare to oppose the deadly drive toward atomic annihilation.

You cannot make the people of Asia believe that the U.S. rulers are fighting for their benefit when they see Washington brutally wiping out a whole nation like Korea and slaughtering millions to support tyrants like Syngman Rhee or Chiang Kai-shek.

For it is not their personal experience with U.S. imperialism that dictates the hostility of the workers of other lands. It is their observation of the conditions faced by the American workers and racial minorities. The foreign policy of U.S. capitalism is but the reverse face of its domestic policy.

For it is not their personal experience with U.S. imperialism that dictates the hostility of the workers of other lands. It is their observation of the conditions faced by the American workers and racial minorities. The foreign policy of U.S. capitalism is but the reverse face of its domestic policy.

Our foreign and domestic policies are indivisible — they are one and the same," said W. Averell Harriman, on April 17. The Mutual Security Administrator certainly should know, since he is a scion of one of America's richest banking families, has been a chief architect of the U.S. foreign policy and is being touted by the "liberal" Democrats for their party's presidential candidacy.

The foreign policy that supports fascists and dictators abroad, that seeks to sacrifice the people's bread for rearmament under U.S. control, that hurls death at struggles of the colonial peoples for their liberation can mean only suppression

of the American people's rights and the destruction of their living standards.

All over the world, the workers, the poor, the oppressed are looking to the American workers to take their rightful place in the vanguard of the struggle against capitalist exploitation and war. It is not too much to say that the key to the next great advance of society is in the hands of the mighty American working class.

### NEED OWN PARTY

But, as yet, the workers here lack the leadership and the political machinery. Their present leaders are tied to the capitalist political parties and are completely subservient to the imperialist foreign policies that have made the name of the U.S. odious all over the earth.

What is needed is a party of labor and a program free from all capitalist control and imperialist taint. If the American workers had a labor party they could be fighting effectively today to extend the hand of peace and fellowship across the ocean, instead of being silent while Wall Street threatens to drag the earth down in atomic ruins.

In the coming national elections, the Socialist Workers Party alone will defend the true interests of American labor and challenge the program, foreign and domestic, of the plutocracy. The candidates of the SWP will show to the world the other face of America, the friendly face of working class solidarity, and not the greedy visage of the capitalist monopolies.

The SWP calls on the American workers to join with it in the fight against imperialist war and for the socialist emancipation of human kind.

## Temporary Order Restrains State Move to Bar SWP's National Ticket from Ballot

DETROIT, April 23 — Michigan state authorities today were temporarily blocked from proceeding with their efforts to ban the Socialist Workers Party from the ballot.

Earlier, attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party were arranging to file suit this week to compel the Secretary of State to certify the SWP candidates for the state ballot.

Today's court action, arising from a suit filed by lawyers for the Communist Party, climaxed six days of frenzied witch hunt hysteria generated by state officials and the press following the signing of the Trucks Act by Gov. G. Mennen Williams on April 17.

### POLICE STATE EDICT

The Trucks Act, pushed through the State Legislature with the support of both Republicans and Democrats, seeks to turn Michigan into a police state by banning "subversive" organizations from the ballot, requiring its members to register with the state police and introducing a new definition of "sabotage" that could be used to cripple the labor movement. (See Page 2 for full analysis of the law and of the circumstances under which it was adopted.)

The Socialist Workers Party early this month submitted over 12,000 legally valid petitions to win a place on the state ballot for its slate, headed by Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President. When SWP state chairman Howard Lerner inquired why the party had not yet been certified, state election director Edward W. Frey informed the press:

"Our duty is to get all the facts we can before we certify any party. In view of the impending (Trucks) law, we must see that no organization inclined toward socialism is given a place on

### Challenges Ban



FARRELL DOBBS

the ballot." (Detroit Free Press, April 16.)

### WILLIAMS SIGNS LAW

The next day Gov. Williams signed the law and all the agencies of the government apparatus sprang into action to enforce it.

Attorney General Frank G. Millard immediately ruled that the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party are barred from the ballot under the provisions of the new law. (The Communist Party had not filed for a place on the ballot this year.)

Secretary of State Fred M. Alger Jr. at once sent a letter to Lerner, stating that the SWP's petitions were being rejected because of Millard's ruling. Alger did not deny that the petitions meet all the requirements of the state election law.

### THREATEN ARRESTS

A five-day deadline for the registration of "subversives" at State Police posts was set. State Police Commissioner Donald S. Leonard said he was ready to

(Continued on page 2)

## STEEL PRICES BOOSTED PAY INCREASE STALLED

NEW YORK, April 23 — The Truman administration today authorized a steel price increase which will boost steel prices about \$3 a ton but announced that nothing would be done about granting wage increases until further study.

Working out the pay raise, insisted Economic Stabilizer Putnam, was a time-consuming job. The guaranteeing of corporation profits, dividends, damages and now a price gouge, is much less "time-consuming" for Truman's stabilizers.

The steel industry was not too happy about the government's price increase, which was approximately one-quarter of what they demanded, and instituted additional court suits to force the government to end its "seizure" of the steel plants.

From the beginning the strategy of the steel corporations was to maneuver to place the blame for any price rise on the union's demand for wages increases. The order increasing steel prices was based on the inflationary Capehart amendment to the Defense Production Act. The Office of Price Stabilization had delayed the issuance of the price boost order for months at the behest of the steel corporations.

The Wall Street Journal, March 19, reported that "steel producers are making a last-ditch effort to postpone an order from the Office of Price Stabilization that would allow steel prices to rise." The Wall Street Journal explained that "this strange situation arises not because the steel men don't want higher price ceilings," but because "they fear the public effect of such an order from the price controllers if it should come before a wage boost for steelworkers is recommended."

With Big Business and Congressional pressure mounting the Truman administration is showing great reluctance about putting the Wage Stabilization Board recommendations into effect. The pro-Truman New York Post reports that "the administration was taking its time about ordering steel pay raises." Having Steelworkers president Murray's unconditional promise not to strike against the government the stabilizers are in no hurry to grant the union demands.



# How the Trucks Act Was Passed

DETROIT — What happened in Michigan can happen in other states too. That is why the entire labor and liberal movement should be alerted to the story of how Michigan, long noted for having the most dynamic and militant unions, now has the added distinction of being burdened with the most repressive thought-control law on the books of any large industrial state in the country. This is how it happened:

Last Jan. 19 Rep. Kenneth O. Trucks of Baldwin, a member of the Republican majority in the Michigan House of Representatives, introduced Bill 20.

## ONE OF MANY

No one seemed to pay it much attention. Numerous bills of this type are brought into state legislatures by politicians who want to make a name for themselves as crusaders against "communism," and as a rule they die a quiet death.

But something else happened this time. The notorious House Un-American Activities Committee decided to come to Michigan and stage witch hunt hearings in Detroit at the end of February.

The Committee's arrival was a signal for the corporations, local capitalist politicians, daily press and conservative elements inside the unions to unleash the worst lynch-the-reds hysteria ever experienced in Michigan.

The Committee subpoenaed, grilled and smeared dozens of witnesses. The newspapers fanned the witch hunt flames with blaring headlines. The radio blasted the air with provocative and screaming incitements to the most reactionary elements in the state. Scissorsbills in the plants seized the opportunity to drive militant workers out of their jobs. Liberals were terrorized. The leaders of the mighty CIO Auto Workers Union, whose conventions have passed a dozen resolutions against the House Committee and witch hunts in general, remained silent at the start, and later crept in like jackals, utilizing the hysteria in order to cripple union opponents of their policies.

## CAPS WITCH HUNT

In this atmosphere, which can be likened to nothing so much as a lynch-bee in the deep South, the Trucks Bill was suddenly brought up in the House.

Nobody dared to say a word

against it. Only one member, a Democrat who is also an international representative of the UAW, even rose to question the constitutionality of a bill that bars political parties from the ballot and forces citizens to register with the state police and answer "any" questions about their political associations on penalty of ten years' imprisonment.

And not even this UAW representative stood up to vote against the bill. Neither did any other Democrat elected with the support of the labor movement. The vote passing the bill was unanimous.

## SECOND STAGE

The House Un-American Committee recessed its hearings in Detroit, and the bill went to the State Senate in Lansing. Liberals hoped that this would be the end, that the hysteria would die down, that the bill would go no further.

Their hopes were quickly dashed. The House Committee returned to Detroit and resumed its hearings, and the drive began again. When it left town for good, the leaders of the UAW quickly grabbed the headlines by moving to take over militant Ford

## Genora Dollinger Blames Major Parties for Reactionary Statute

FLINT, April 18 — "We hold the two major parties equally responsible," said Genora Johnson Dollinger, chairman of the Flint Socialist Workers Party, upon learning of the SWP's removal from the ballot under Trucks Act. "The SWP will fight this police-state edict," she said. "We repudiate the infamous 'subversive' label. We declare that the real subversives are the State Legislature which passed the law, the Governor who signed it and the Secretary of State Alger who put it into practice. We will go to the courts to regain our place on the November ballot in Michigan. It has become our duty to keep alive the best traditions of American democracy which are rapidly vanishing under the spur of the witch hunt."



GENORA DOLLINGER

Local 600, continuing the witch hunt on their own.

Such conditions were most favorable for the proponents of the Trucks Bill, and they did not

penalty in cases where any lives were lost in labor disputes involving "sabotage" — a provision that conflicted with the State Constitution, which forbids capital punishment. So this provision was removed from the bill, and it was quickly passed through the Senate.

Gov. G. Mennen Williams, the bright-haired darling of the Fair Deal liberal and labor leaders, then had a chance to block the bill by using his power to veto. Instead, he signed the bill and it became law.

The House Un-American Committee is free to go to any other state. Wherever it goes, it will find Republicans and Democrats ready to help it spread the witch hunt, newspaper and radio executives eager to collaborate and extend the use of their facilities, liberals who will under pressure and stick their heads down into the sand.

And if it also finds a labor movement that does not fight back, then the same blitzkrieg against civil liberties will take place in other states.

That is the lesson of Michigan, which the workers and their allies all over the country had better start learning fast.

## The American Way of Life

### O'er the Ramparts They Watch

The Daughters of the American Revolution in sixty-first continental congress assembled, took sober stock of the country last week and found cause for alarm. What

with "appeasement" in Korea, affronts to the national honor right here at home, a disappointing gold supply at Fort Knox and a country full of aliens, things are going from bad to worse.

Watching o'er the ramparts, the DAR found that our flag was not still there. The good ladies were in a dither over reports that the United States flag had been hauled down at the United States Navy Yard in Norfolk, Va., and that a "strange and alien rag" had been raised in its place. This "international flag" roused the Daughters so much that they listened with clucks of approval to a demand that the United States withdraw from the United Nations, which was stigmatized as a "collectivist super-state" before the outraged gathering.

ton's sense of dignity, and she asked the delegates to "please remember we are daughters of the American Revolution at all times." However, Mrs. Throckmorton healed the breach by adding: "That was only a bit of gaiety, not meant seriously."

All gaiety came to a sudden, screeching halt when the delegates got around to the Fort Knox gold situation. Having heard somewhere that the U.S. has been "losing gold at the rate of \$200,000,000 a year," the Daughters quivered with alarm. Not believing with the poet that "who steals my purse steals trash," they demanded a Congressional investigation of the gold vaults at Fort Knox, Ky.

### THE GOLD MYSTERY

Brows wrinkled with concern, the 2,000 "Revolutionary Daughters" were ready to expect the worst. Could it be that the Missouri gang had filched the key to Fort Knox from Truman's pants pocket and walked off with tons of yellow ingots? Could Truman have lost some of it at poker? Perhaps Willie Sutton has the gold buried in his Brooklyn backyard. However, the daughters were careful not to leap to any fast conclusions, and were ready to wait until a joint Congressional committee had time to "personally inspect" the gleaming yellow metal.

As it turned out, the DAR had been misled by some figures in a government report. The gold is safe. But the daughters are making haste to check the silver. They are making their own "personal inspection" of the White House.

— By Harry Frankel

## 'Form of Police State Is Replacing Democratic Process,' Says Lerner

DETROIT, April 18 — Howard Lerner, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party in Michigan, was quoted in most local papers today as making the following comment on the application of the new Trucks Act to the SWP:

"Under the new law, if it is upheld by the courts, any minority group can be banned from the ballot merely by a ruling from the Attorney General holding that the group is subversive."

"It looks like a form of police state is beginning to replace democratic processes."



HOWARD LERNER

## Michigan Law Strikes at Labor, Free Elections and Bill of Rights

The law which was used to bar the Socialist Workers Party Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, from the Michigan ballot is the so-called "Michigan Communist Control Law." The nature of the law was disclosed in the very first action taken; the barring of Socialist Workers Party candidates who had fulfilled every legal requirement for a place on the ballot.

Section 7 of the law, which was used against the SWP only a day after it was signed by Governor Williams, reads as follows: "The

name of any Communist or of any nominee of the Communist party shall not be printed upon any ballot used in any primary or general election in this state or in any political subdivision thereof."

### ALL CHANGE BANNED

This section prohibits electoral activity to parties and groups that favor social changes. The law itself is supposed to be directed against those who want to alter the government "by unconstitutional means" but the very first action taken under the law

is the banning of the SWP from the ballot, thus preventing it from seeking social changes in this country by the ballot, or in other words by means which are presumably "constitutional." Thus the real significance of this new law, like all the other witch-hunt measures in the U.S. today is to try to prevent any kind of changes being made by any means.

The law defines "communists" in such vague and broad terms as to make almost anyone who is dissatisfied in any way with capitalist rule a "communist." Section 2 of the law says "A 'communist' is a person who: (a) Is a member of the communist party, notwithstanding the fact that he may not pay dues to, or hold a card in, said party. . . . Later on, the law broadens this deliberately vague category to include members of any organization "which in any manner advocates, or acts to further, the world communist movement."

### A CATCH-ALL LAW

In the first Michigan action under the new measure, the Michigan Attorney General has already designated the Socialist Workers Party to be a "communist" organization despite the well known bitter hostility of the Moscow regime to this party, and despite the opposition of this party to Stalinism. This creates the basis for the inclusion of any left wing organization under the provisions of this law. In times of labor-capital conflict, trade unions could and undoubtedly would be included under the provisions of the new law if it remains on the statute books.

The Michigan police-state law goes on to provide that any person who can be called a "communist" under these provisions must register within five days after the law goes into effect (April 17) and must continue to register annually. Moreover, any visitor to the state who could be called a "communist" and who is in the state for as many as five consecutive days must also register.

In registering with the state police, "communists" must answer a series of questions outlined in the law plus any other questions put by the state police, and must in addition give the names of all other persons "known by" or "believed by" to be communists or members of any communist front organizations."

Thus the provision for persons to register is really a demand for people to become stoolpigeons. Failure to become a stoolpigeon is punishable by fine and/or imprisonment (up to \$10,000 and up to 10 years). A "registrant" might answer ten thousand questions,

but failure to answer question number ten thousand and one would land him in prison.

### SABOTAGE SECTION

The law contains a so-called "sabotage" section, which says: "It shall be a felony, punishable by a term in the state prison for not more than 20 years, for any person, with the intent to injure the United States, the state of Michigan, or any facilities or property used for national defense, to sabotage or destroy, or to attempt to sabotage or destroy, any property, facility or service that is being used in connection with national defense."

This is potentially the most dangerous provision of the law. It is inserted for two reasons. First, it is the current fashion to include a "sabotage" clause in thought-control laws in order to create the false impression that radicalism is in some way tied up with "sabotage." Despite the fact that there are many such "sabotage" clauses on the statute books, no prosecutions have been initiated under these clauses for the good and sufficient reason that there is no political party in the U.S. which either advocates or carries on any "sabotage." But the psychological intent of these clauses is to create the impression that an imminent danger of "sabotage" exists.

The second reason for this clause is of the greatest potential danger for the organized labor movement. This law can, in the future, be used against trade unions and unionists who call a strike in a plant connected in some way with "defense" (almost all plants have such a connection, direct or remote). Unionists who halt the movement of goods, or who halt production, can be accused of "intent to injure . . . facilities or property used for national defense." Anyone who thinks this is far-fetched need only recall the cry that went up against the sit-down strikers in Detroit, Flint and elsewhere in 1936 and 1937. Reactionary tools of the employers called the workers "communists who ought to be shot."

### POWER TO BOSS

Finally, the law provides that any employer may fire a worker from a job if he has "reasonable grounds" for believing that worker to be a communist "where the remuneration of said position, job or office is paid in whole or in part by public moneys or funds." The whole discretion for firing people is left, in this clause, to "the employer or other superior."

## 'Fair Deal' Gov. Signs the Law

What is the background and record of Gov. G. Mennen Williams, who on April 17 signed the Trucks Bill to turn Michigan into a police state?

Four years ago he was known only as a millionaire member of the wealthy Mennen family which produces toilet articles. He emerged from obscurity in 1948 when he was given the Democratic nomination for Governor by a political machine that had little or no hope of winning the election that year.

### WOO'S LABOR SUPPORT

Needing support badly, Williams made numerous gestures to the labor movement and especially the CIO United Auto Workers and proclaimed himself to be a dyed-in-the-wool Fair Deal Democrat friend of labor and defender of civil rights.

He was swept into office in 1948 and, like Truman, did not try to hide the political debt he

owed to the labor leaders and such liberal organizations as Americans for Democratic Action. Re-elected by a slim margin in 1950, again mainly because of labor support, he is a candidate once more this year and has announced (although nobody asked him) that he is also willing to be a presidential candidate in 1952.

When Michigan workers were told by their union leaders that Williams' election was "a great victory for labor," some of them wondered aloud: "In what way? His election hasn't brought us any pro-labor legislation, has it?"

The answer of the labor leaders was: "No, but that is not his fault, because the State Legislature is controlled by reactionary Republicans. That is why we must elect members of the Legislature who will support Williams straight down the line. Meanwhile, his election represents a victory for us because as Governor he can

veto and block any anti-labor, anti-Negro and McCarthyite legislation that the Republicans try to push through."

### FALSE CLAIM EXPOSED

The falseness of this claim and the bankruptcy of the union leaders' political policy were both exposed when Williams was given the test of the Trucks Bill, which not only outlaws free elections but menaces the whole labor movement by a definition of "sabotage" that could lead to long prison sentences for almost any striking worker.

While the Trucks Bill was being rushed through the Michigan Legislature, Williams had nothing to say about it. He did not make a single move to stop the Democrats in both the House and the State Senate from voting for it. After it was passed and sent to him for signature, Williams announced: "While I want to look it over, I see no reason why I should not sign it." On the con-

trary, he saw some reasons why he should:

1. "Anti-communism" today is regarded as extremely popular by the capitalist politicians who compete with each other for the "credit" of introducing "anti-subversive" legislation. Williams decided to follow the lead of the Truman administration, which started the federal "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist that encouraged the national spread of McCarthyism.

2. Williams won re-election in 1950 by only a few thousand votes. Why shouldn't he try to avoid such narrow scrapes in the future by helping to ban minority parties from the ballot?

3. He knew the labor leaders were worried by some of the implications of the Trucks Bill. But they were too intimidated by the witch hunt hysteria to speak up against it openly, and they were already committed to back his campaign for re-election in 1952. Anyone could see that he had nothing to fear from them.

So he added his signature to the bill, making it a law and giving the signal for the lynch-ing of civil liberties in Michigan which, if successful, will surely be imitated by other states.

### ONLY ONE EXAMPLE

Williams is only one example of how the CIO-AFL policy of supporting capitalist politicians results in the strengthening of reaction. The same thing has happened with all the other Fair Deal Democrats whose election in 1948 was hailed as a "great victory" by the CIO, AFL and ADA. For instance:

Gov. Adlai Stevenson signed Illinois Law 1030, which provides jail sentences for citizens who cross a county line to get signatures to an election petition. Senators Paul Douglas of Illinois and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota showed their true colors when they lined up with the Dixiecrats to defeat anti-segregation amendments to federal education and housing laws, and when they joined McCarran and McCarthy in voting to create political concentration camps in the U.S.

The American workers must let their leaders know of their opposition to a police state — whether it is introduced by reactionary Republicans or liberal Democratic "friends of labor." They must demand an end to the policy of supporting capitalist politicians who can be depended on for only one thing — to stab the workers in the back the first chance they get. They must fight for the formation of an independent Labor Party that will run its own candidates against the police-statesmen of all varieties.

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — For information, write P. O. Box 1842.  
BOSTON — Workers Educational Center 30 Stuart St., Open Sun. 12-5 P.M. Social Sat. 12-5 P.M.  
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MADISON 9 900.  
CHICAGO — 734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:30 P.M. Phone HARRISON 7-0400.  
CLEVELAND — 10008 Superior Ave. DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TT 7-0807.  
FLINT — SWP, 1307 Oak Street, Phone 22490.  
LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANGELES 9-4953.  
MILWAUKEE — 317 N. 2nd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.  
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PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone STEVENSON 4-5820.  
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## AKRON CELEBRATE MAY DAY HONOR the fight for the 8 hour day

Jean Simon

Reporter for The Militant

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## Chicago May Day Rally

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FRIDAY, MAY 2  
8 P. M.

Refreshments - Social

Subscription 35¢

## 'A Socialist Anti-War Program for 1952'

## SWP FIGHTS MICHIGAN POLICE-STATE MEASURE

(Continued from page 1)

arrest 300 persons if they failed to register by midnight of April 22.

Arthur G. Rasch, state civil service director, did his bit to add to the hysteria. He said his staff was checking all government employees, and that "the entire 22,000 workers are under close observation."

Attorney General Millard made no attempt to prove that the Socialist Workers Party is "subversive." He merely declared it was so designated by the U.S. Attorney General in his federal blacklist.

He did not mention the fact that the U.S. Attorney General had blacklisted the SWP without a hearing, without a chance to learn the specific charges against it and without the right to answer them, or the fact that such procedure has been condemned in the federal courts.

### ARBITRARY RULING

Millard said that "although it (the SWP) is not affiliated with the Communist International or officially recognized by either Moscow or the Communist Party in the United States, it falls within the definition of organizations seeking to 'alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.'" (Detroit News, April 18.)

Police Commissioner Leonard, who the Michigan CIO News says is using the witch hunt in order to wangle the Republican nomination for U.S. Senator, could not restrain his enthusiasm over the "advantages" of the Trucks Act.

There is an old statute still on the Michigan books which provides as much as life imprisonment for "subversive" activities. However, no one has been prosecuted under it because it requires proof that the accused advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

The Trucks act simplifies everything, Leonard explained, because it permits prosecutions for failure to register and thereby does away with the need to prove advocacy of revolution by force and violence.

"The net is drawing tighter," he gloated. "Under the new law, a Communist is somewhat like a man with a rifle caught in the woods outside the deer season. Possession of a rifle is prima facie evidence that the man was hunting deer illegally, and he can be convicted. A Communist who fails to register, and refuses to answer questions, is in the same dangerous position under the law. The police do not have to prove

he had started shooting." (Detroit Times, April 18.)

### COPS ARE 'READY'

The next day's press the police were "ready to grab Reds" who failed to register, but regrettably added that privately they were admitting that one of Millard's rulings "will make their task more difficult."

"Millard said that proof of party membership prior to the signing of the new law does not provide sufficient evidence for arrest. The ruling excludes as evidence the piles of Communist cards, records and files accumulated by the police over years of careful investigation. The State must prove a person is a Communist on or after Tuesday's deadline, under the Attorney General's interpretation." (Detroit Free Press, April 19.)

On April 21 Millard petitioned the Wayne County Circuit Court to create a one-man grand jury to indict violators of the new statute. Attached to his petition was an affidavit by Leonard about his list of alleged "communists or fellow travelers" and the names of former Communist Party members "willing to be witnesses."

### COOL TO PROBE

The press reported that the Circuit Court judges were cool to the request for the proposed probe. At any rate they did not act immediately on it.

On April 22 Millard again issued a warning that "subversives" would be prosecuted if they failed to register by midnight.

The press and radio also reported on this day that Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman and Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, had come to Detroit to help fight the moves to label the party "subversive" under the Trucks Act. (See his statement to the press, pledging a fight against the law, on Page 1.)

Then yesterday came Judge Lederle's injunction restraining the Attorney General, Secretary of State, State Police Commissioner and Detroit Police Commissioner from taking or continuing to take any action to enforce the law before the court hearing scheduled for May 20.

Informed of this order by phone, Millard refused to comment on its effect on the barring of the SWP from the ballot until he had studied the order.

### Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.



## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400  
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN  
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;  
\$2 for 6 months. Single Copies (5 or more copies): 30¢ each in U.S.;  
40¢ each in foreign countries.  
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mil-  
itant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.  
Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office  
at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XVI - No. 17

Monday, April 28, 1952

### The "Humane" Atom-Bomb

Not since Truman's atomic pulverizing of the crowded cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and his 1949 announcement that the Soviet Union had produced an atomic explosion, has there been such publicity about an A-bomb blast as the one set off in the latest test at Yucca Flat, Nevada, on April 22.

Millions of people witnessed the event on television. Millions of words were dispatched from the scene for the edification of the reading public by a horde of newspaper reporters, special feature writers and "big name" magazine scribes who attended the explosion by Pentagon invitation.

The purpose of this tremendous propaganda campaign was indicated in such headlines as appeared in the N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun of April 22:

"1500 GIs Survive A-Blast  
At Closest Test-Range Yet"

and

"Hell Bursting in Skies May Mean  
Short Battles, More Merciful Wars"

Thus, American youth in uniforms who fear immolation in a super-war of atomic annihilation are led to believe that an A-war will be a mere picnic, while the public generally is given the impression that the atom bomb is nothing short of a boon to humanity.

Hugh Baillie, United Press president and an eye-witness of the Yucca Flat spectacle, waxed positively enthusiastic about the blessings of the atom bomb. The show at Yucca Flat was staged, he explained on April 22, as "a demonstration of the atom bomb as a humane weapon." Atomic bombing, he opined, is nothing less than a "mercy stroke" that "will kill troops quickly and in large numbers and enable the capture of positions with a minimum of loss and a maximum of speed and thus shorten wars. . . ."

"One bomb does it all," he tells us. And then, "as soon as the Geiger counters indicate it is safe," the U.S. Army "moves in." Isn't the test at Yucca Flat proof of it? Didn't 1,500 GIs survive it? You wonder what force suddenly killed 60,000, injured 100,000 and made 200,000 homeless at Hiroshima at 9:15 A.M. on August 6, 1946, a day that will live forever in infamy.

But these 1,500 U.S. soldiers at Yucca Flat were dug deep in five-foot fox-holes four miles from the detonation center, "far removed from the heat, blast and radioactive danger area," writes Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the N.Y. Times, and the bomb was set off "higher in the air by far than any previously detonated in war or in test, to prevent radio-active 'contamination' of the ground over which the troops advanced." If the men had not been protected at all, the most they could have suffered, says Baldwin, is "light sunburn."

The troops who have thus survived so well the rigors of A-bombing, as staged for publicity purposes by the Big Brass, are supposed to go back to their "widely scattered units," reports Baldwin, "and help — the Army hopes — to rid the rest of the Army of its psychological fixation on the atomic bomb." While Baillie, in a dispatch after the explosion, tells about the "psychological results on the GIs themselves" and how "military experts regard this as a nice tidy way to win a battle, or a war, as contrasted to the methods which have been employed in Korea to date."

We can gather from the statements of Baldwin and Baillie that there is a "psychological fixation" among the American troops against the "bigger and better" war which U.S. imperialism plans to follow Korea, if it is going to mean the kind of fighting and suffering experienced in the Korean war. Hence, the Pentagon officials are trying to make the GIs — and their home folks — think that an A-bomb war, when it comes, will be "nice and tidy" and even "merciful" and "humane." It will "humanely" kill opponent troops "quickly and in large numbers," while the U.S. troops will only have to follow the geiger counters.

But that's not what has the GIs worried. They want to know: What about the A-bomb used on us?

That's something the Army publicity men don't have an answer for. The A-bomb is no longer a U.S. monopoly. It can hit Washington as easily as Moscow; it can "kill troops quickly and in large numbers" in the U.S. army as well as in the Chinese.

The propaganda campaign around the Yucca Flat A-bomb test is one of the most sinister hoaxes ever perpetrated against the American people. It is a measure of the utterly cynical and depraved character of the capitalist war-makers that they would seek to represent atomic warfare — this monstrous seal on the crimes of capitalism — as little less than a gift to the human race.

The deeds of the imperialists are revolting enough. Heaven spare us their hypocrisy.

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# Anti-Imperialist Revolution Topples Regime in Bolivia

By George Clarke

Bolivia has joined the column of anti-imperialist revolutions that are sweeping the world from Indo-China to Iran to Tunisia.

Within a matter of a few days, the volcano of popular discontent, fed by years of misery and oppression, erupted in a great mass uprising that knocked the imperialist tin-baron-dominated military dictatorship out of power.

The new regime had hardly taken office when the armed workers and peasants, who smashed the resistance of the army, stepped into the foreground demanding that the middle class MNR government move to the left and carry out its promises to nationalize the tin mines.

#### WALL ST. WORRIED

Meanwhile U.S. monopolies and Wall Street investment bankers are trembling with anxiety lest the sparks flying in Bolivia ignite the tinderbox of revolt on their nitrate and copper properties in Chile, in their oil fields in Venezuela and start the revolutionary masses in motion against the American quisling regimes in Colombia and Peru.

The stakes are high in Bolivia. Over 40 percent of the nation's tin output — upon which the country is entirely dependent — is owned by American plutocrats. Rockefeller controls the Patino company outright and part interest in the two other companies, Hochschild and Aramayo, is held by Guggenheim and W. R. Grace. They have bled the country dry, inhuman exploitation, while extracting a 47.2 percent rate of profit, has sent the 'TB rate' among the miners to 50 percent, killing half their babies each year.

As described by our La Paz correspondent elsewhere on this page, the revolt began with a split in the military junta which had seized power back in May 1951 to prevent MNR candidate Paz Estenssoro, legally elected President, from taking office. The dissident generals were obliged to turn to the MNR and its powerful worker and peasant following for support. The masses of La Paz flocked into the streets demanding arms. Miners seized the towns in the high plateaus where they slave for absentee owners at \$1.20 a day. The army was annihilated in a series of pitched battles. Power fell into the hands of the new MNR regime.

#### WELCOMING COMMITTEE

The revolution was the welcoming committee for Estenssoro as he stepped off the plane after six years of exile in Buenos Aires. His first reception came from the miners and other workers demanding nationalization of the mines. Reacting in fright, he promised that this would be his first act. But in a few days, buttressed by capitalist elements in the government, mistaking the temporary lull in mass activity for passivity, he came back to his bourgeois senses and began to hedge on the promise of nationalization. His obvious aim was to use the revolution as blackmail to obtain a few small concessions: higher prices from the RFC for Bolivian tin and a larger share of the profits of the tin barons for the state.

His precipitate retreat is characteristic of the MNR, which while being a party backed by the masses of the workers and peasants, is headed by a temporizing middle class leadership. It was

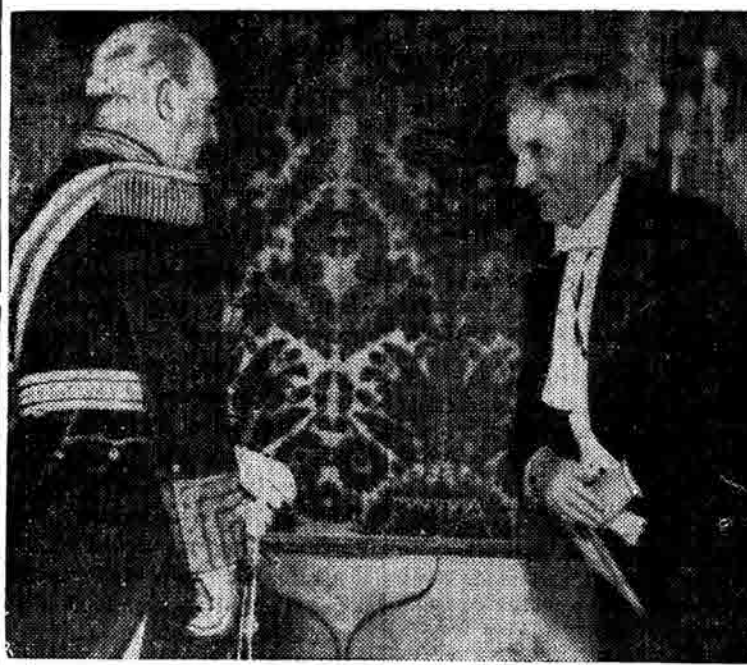
such a course as this, striking out both at the right and the left, at reactionary elements and at rebellious miners and peasants seizing the land, that brought down the 1943-1946 MNR regime and cost its leader Villaroel his head. The same kind of timidity and compromise, which leaves unsolved the fundamental problems of the nation, wrecked the mass-supported Accion Democratica government in Venezuela,

the popular Aprista government in Peru and recently the Prio regime in Cuba.

#### RECKONS WITHOUT HOST

Estenssoro is reckoning without his host. The revolution is alive and vibrant, the real power in the country is as much in its hands as in those of the MNR government. While the right wing in the government has been intriguing to arrange some com-

### Pays Respects to Fascist



Bowing respectfully, the new U.S. ambassador to Spain, Lincoln MacVeagh (r.) as he recently presented his credentials to the bloody butcher of the Spanish workers and peasants, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, in Madrid. Washington is giving diplomatic, financial and military support to bolster up the Spanish fascist regime and is making plans to incorporate Spain into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

## German Unions Rebel Against Leaders' Stand on Rearmament

By W. BASCHKE  
(Our German Correspondent)

On Jan. 20, 1952, von Hoff, a leader of the United German Trade Union Federation (DGB), declared during a trade union conference held at Oberhausen in the Ruhr that he personally, was in favor of rearmament. It is necessary he said, to make sacrifices to defend liberty against the threats from the east.

This declaration was no different from dozens and dozens of others made before this by rearmament union and political leaders. But this one came just after Theodor Blank, the man in charge of military questions for the Adenauer government, made an announcement on the subject of the organization of the new German army. The pent-up discontent against the rearmament plans immediately found organized expression. If von Hoff had foreseen the chain reaction unleashed by his speech he would have swallowed his words.

#### PROTEST MOUNTS

The reaction of the trade union movement, especially that of Central and Southern Germany, was violent and unanimous. A "storm of protest" rose in the workers

movement, reported the Frankfurt liberal paper, Freie Presse. The Munich Sueddeutsche Zeitung spoke of "the first roll of thunder which heralds the future storms." In fact, in 24 hours, more than 700 protest resolutions rained down on the leaders of the Federal Trade Unions at Dusseldorf.

The metal workers of Stuttgart and Frankfurt, the 22,000 workers of the biggest German factory, the Badische Anilin und Ludwigshafen; the Trade Union Council of Munich; of Augsburg; the entire provincial organization of the province of Bavaria; of Rhenania, and of Palatinat, produced some of the most vigorous protest resolutions.

This reaction was not confined merely to resolutions. Threats of resignation en bloc of entire unions were heard from all sides. In Esslingen, a small industrial town near Stuttgart all the workers left the factories spontaneously and organized a protest demonstration. Several days later, warning strikes took place in the Daimler-Benz factories at Mannheim, and in the Nordstern mine at Gelsenkirchen.

All over Western Germany the workers clearly demonstrated their opposition to rearmament. The lower officialdom of the trade union movement comprising the most conscious element of the

workers movement, not yet corrupted by the bureaucratic habits of the tops and quicker in their reaction than the rank and file workers, have taken into their hands the leadership of the popular protests.

#### BAVARIAN UNIONS ACT

The federal trade union president, Christian Fette, tried through a speech over the radio to calm the atmosphere. It was wasted effort. The protest movement grew bigger and more generalized, finding its ripest expression at a special provincial Congress of Bavarian Unions convened on Feb. 10.

The 116 delegates at this conference expressed themselves unanimously and unconditionally against rearmament while declaring themselves ready to defend their democratic liberties through mass action. This radical resolution, going far beyond the hesitant and contradictory stand taken by the Social Democratic opposition, was adopted after a dramatic debate in which the top union leaders, one after another, implored the delegates to be more "reasonable."

However, the decision of the delegates was made even before the Congress opened. They came there with the object of voicing the opinion of the factories and this opinion was heard powerfully in

the debates. "Forty percent of our members have threatened to quit the union if we fail to take a clear stand against rearmament!" Shouted Essel, the leader of the metal workers unions.

#### MARKS NEW STAGE

During the speech of the head of the Bavarian trade union press in which he violently attacked von Hoff the latter murmured: "And such are the men we are paying." A delegate overhearing these words rose immediately and exclaimed in a storm of applause: "It is not you who pays this comrade — it is we who pay you, von Hoff!"

This incident portrays the violently anti-bureaucratic atmosphere of this special congress which marks a stage in the rise of the German workers movement. It ended with the exclamation by Linser, president of the Bavarian trade unions: "This is an historic hour for the whole of Germany."

At a meeting in Dusseldorf on Feb. 24 the General Council of the Trade Unions accepted the demands of the Social Democratic Party for a new election in which the issue of rearmament would be decided by the people. It thus quietly got off the hook of Fette's previous declarations that rearmament, being a parliamentary affair, is of no concern to the trade unions. But it is obvious that in making this small turn to the left the trade union leaders seek to channelize and arrest the opposition movement.

#### TIME TO ACT

This is the time for the rank and file to hold the leaders of the unions and of the Social Democratic Party to their word. It is necessary to tell them: "What are you waiting for? This is the moment to organize mass actions, protest demonstrations, big movements, which would give power to your opposition to rearmament. It is good to pass protest resolutions. But this is not enough."

"While we discuss, the capitalists act. Mister Blank is organizing a whole corps of officers comprising the inner structure of the Wehrmacht to come. To stop it one must act! It is necessary to create a powerful workers front of struggle composed of its mass organizations, the trade unions and Social Democratic Party to crush in embryo the army of civil war which capitalism is preparing."

Such language would not fail to have its effect on the Social Democratic Party which proved very sensitive to the protest movement in the unions. It would become even more sensitive if the workers movement in France, in Great Britain and the United States, expressed by their actions their complete solidarity with the German working class.

promise with imperialism, it has not been able to avoid giving concessions to the masses, all in reality recognition of accomplished facts.

The real armed power in the country is held by the Popular Militia which is said to possess 10,000 rifles and light machine guns. Far from daring to disarm the militia, the government has had to entrust them with the task of stamping out any attempted counter-revolution. At the same time it has been obliged to purge the regular army, always the breeding ground for reactionary military coup d'etats, and to cut its size down from 15,000 to 5,000.

Two representatives of Bolivia's workers occupy key posts in the government. Juan Lechin of the tin miners union is Minister of Mines and Petroleum and German Butron of the textile union is Minister of Labor. To strengthen their pressure from within the government for the realization of the radical program to which the MNR is pledged, they have set up an organization of the nation's workers, known as the Central Obrera Boliviana, to exert the massed might of the proletarians as pressure from the outside.

The announced aim of the new

organization is to unify the workers in "the fight for nationalization of mines and railroads, and agrarian reform." Is it any wonder that the N. Y. Times, all sweetness and light in handling Estenssoro, reserves its editorial spleen for Lechin whom it denounces as a "peronist nazi-type labor leader," the "most dangerous" man in the new government? Latin America could well stand a few more such "dangerous" leaders!

Further to the left and what will eventually become the real driving force of the Bolivian workers and peasants revolution is the Trotskyist POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), Bolivian section of the Fourth International, whose program and activities are described by our correspondent from La Paz. (See below.)

The POR has extensive influence among the miners and textile workers and among the students and city poor; involved in their struggles for years, its leaders have paid the price of imprisonment and exile for their revolutionary activities. The POR bears watching as the unfolding film of the Bolivian revolution moves rapidly to the left.

## AN EYE-WITNESS REPORT FROM LA PAZ

By Our Bolivia Correspondent

LA PAZ, Bolivia, April 14 — The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) government now has the upper hand after the April 9 coup d'etat, led by Brig. General Antonio Seleme, Gen. Torres,

Ortiz, army chief of staff, the prime minister of the deposed junta and the second chief of the general staff along with the federal police.

Differences and personal ambitions of the militarists constituting the junta reached the breaking point on April 8 during a stormy session of the junta and precipitated the governmental crisis. At the end of the session, Seleme in agreement with Torres Ortiz ordered the police to seize the city. He appealed to the leaders of the MNR to join him in the conspiracy to forestall Minister Sanchez who in turn was preparing a coup d'etat with the Independent Revolutionary Party (PIR).

#### ARMS DISTRIBUTED

On the morning of April 9 the insurgents were in complete control of the city, and their control was extending over the rest of the country. Taken by surprise, the masses gathered in the streets and on the squares, without however deciding on any action. A limited number of arms were distributed to elements carefully chosen by the right wing leadership of the MNR.

Leaders of the coup d'etat were Seleme, Torres and Siles Suazo, who represented the police force, the army and the mobilized civilians. Juan Lechin, the leader of the mine workers union, appealed to the textile workers and miners to enlist their participation in the movement. For that purpose he was obliged to advance to them a program covering nationalization and the liquidation of landed property. Lechin's attitude stirred up a disagreement within the committee leading the movement. Torres Ortiz, seeing his ambitions threatened and fearing Lechin's program set about to reorganize the opposition forces headed by the army as well as by Seleme who had taken refuge in Chilean Embassy. In this way the movement remained under the complete control of the MNR supported by the federal police.

TAKES SERIOUS TURN  
With the about face of the militarists headed by Torres the situation took a serious turn: the upper zone of the city was surrounded by three regiments and other military forces. It was then that the tone of the MNR changed completely. An appeal was openly addressed to the mass of the workers in textile, the mines and in the countryside. The miners of Milluni, the peasants, etc., received the order for an armed march on La Paz; arms were distributed; militias were organized, to go into battle. Responding completely and without hesitation, the masses took the arms and fought heroically.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), Bolivian section of the Fourth International, issued a declaration calling for participation in the revolution, investing it with a program expressing the aspirations of all the people: Nationalization, wage increases, etc. The members of the POR played a leading role on the barricades which they transformed into

centers of armed resistance and into forums for revolutionary propaganda. To be sure, control over the masses was exercised completely by the MNR with whom the masses identified themselves, but the political action of the POR had the effect of further radicalizing these masses by setting concrete objectives of struggle before them.

#### REVOLUTION TRIUMPHS

After three days and two nights of bloody fighting at Miraflores, Sopacachi and Villa Victoria, the revolution triumphed. In it eight infantry, cavalry and artillery regiments were crushed. The combativity of the masses was admirable. The leadership of the MNR nil. It had no other aim than to protect its position with the aid of the police, while attempting to isolate the POR and hamper its activity.

According to still unconfirmed reports the struggle in the rest of the country was as bloody or bloodier than it had been in La Paz, especially at Oruro, where the miners participated in it.

The armed struggle is over, but not the political struggle, which under the leadership of the POR can lead to the formation of a Workers and Peasants Government. Events move rapidly. Several hours after the gun fire ceased, the discontent of the masses toward the new government became evident.

The leadership of the MNR, as has already been pointed out, is in the hands of its right wing which controls the government in which a number of Freemasons figure prominently. Lechin said yesterday that the Freemasons are about to take over the government.

#### WORKERS DEMAND ACTION

There is no doubt that the workers are conscious that they are responsible for the victory and therefore they should hold the power but at the same time they are still tied to the MNR. In any case, they are discontented with the new government and are demanding concrete action from it.

The POR has issued the slogan of occupation and administration of all industry by the workers. The slogan has not yet caught on. But the party is oriented towards taking the leadership of the workers given the revolutionary exigencies of the situation. The POR is confident that it will say the last word and this is based on the estimate that the movement will not stop, that the gulf between the masses and the government will become more and more apparent.

**Campaign for  
Socialism  
Sell 'The Militant!'**



# Something to Vote For

By Jean Blake

To hear the labor leaders and the spokesmen for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People tell it, just about the biggest crime you can commit this year is not to register and vote.

Now we certainly favor having citizens exercise their right to vote, and participate in the "democratic process" of selecting their representatives in the government. But, as between the wage earner who can't whip up any enthusiasm for the string of politicians sponsored by the corrupt Democratic and Republican parties on the ballot this year, and the "political leaders" who say, "Vote for anybody, but be sure to vote" — we sympathize with the much maligned worker.

A lot of voters thought there was an important difference between the two capitalist parties in the 1948 presidential election. Truman's pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and his promises of civil rights legislation fooled a lot of people. But the experience of the past four years have taught some very important lessons. The anti-labor legislation was not repealed. Truman emerged as the chief strikebreaker, not hesitating to use the Taft-Hartley law himself. Not a single piece of civil rights legislation was passed. Instead, the government launched a vicious attack on the civil rights of all its critics or potential critics.

Instead of moving forward in the fight to defend the rights of labor and minority groups, we have moved backward to the point where today none of the candidates in the Democratic and Republican primaries is willing to make even the promises Truman made in 1948.

Why is this so? One very important reason is that millions of voters threw their votes away in the last election. They voted Democrat or Republican. That showed the two capitalist parties that labor and the minority groups were still unprepared to act independently to challenge the government's foreign policy of world domination and its domestic policy of making the workers pay for it by increasing exploitation and driving down the standard of living.

And this year the official labor and Negro leaders are asking the members of their organizations to follow the same mistaken course. The rank and file shows that it has no confidence

in that policy by demonstrating little interest in the registration and fund drives of the CIO, the AFL and the NAACP. When confronted with this fact, the leaders either berate the membership, or they say, as one speaker did at the recent CIO civil rights conference in Cleveland: "We must devise techniques for making the rank and file feel they play a part in deciding on issues and candidates."

It's not the techniques that are at fault; it's the policy of keeping the working people tied to the capitalist vote machines, instead of building an Independent Labor Party.

It's no wonder so many workers figure, "Why vote?" But there is a reason to vote — to reject both capitalist parties; to make it clear we are opposed to the war program they both support, and to the sacrifice of workers' living standards and civil rights.

The way to make your vote count is to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. They don't say, with some Democrats and Republicans, or with the labor and Negro leaders — "We don't like war, but we have no alternative."

The SWP candidates do have an alternative. It is to do away with the worn-out capitalist system which modern wars are trying to preserve; to substitute for the government which rules in the interest of the small minority who now own the resources and means of production, a workers' and farmers' government which can proceed immediately to reorganize society for a socialist future of peace, security and full opportunity for all.

You can help the SWP candidates answer the lies of the Democrats and Republicans and bring a working class analysis and answer to the problems of war, the standard of living, civil rights and individual freedom.

You can do this by familiarizing yourself with the program of the Socialist Workers Party, and informing your friends and fellow workers about it; by distributing *The Militant* and other SWP literature; by contributing to the campaign fund; and by voting and urging others to vote for the candidates of the SWP, whether by marking the ballot where their names appear, or writing in their names in those states where the democratic right to be on the ballot has been denied.

## 'Mutiny' and Morale

By Thomas Raymond

Press discussion of the so-called "flyer's mutiny" at air training bases in California and Texas is more than usually superficial. The papers don't touch the real issue because they are afraid of the implications.

Hundreds of Air Force officers, reservists who have been called back to duty after having flown many combat missions in World War II, are asking to be grounded and many of them are refusing to fly even though their requests have been turned down. What is the cause of this mass refusal which has hardly any precedent and which is being called "mutiny" by many newspapers?

Reference is made in the press to the higher age of the reserve officers, who are mostly married men with families, to the loss of money they incurred when called back to service, to the dangers of flying obsolescent B 29s, to the tales of hazards in the air above Korea where Chinese and Korean air resistance and anti-aircraft fire are taking an increasing toll.

All of these factors undoubtedly play a role in the new reluctance of U.S. airmen to continue their deadly work, but they don't explain it. All wars are deadly, and all wars are fought by men many of whom have left families behind them. An army's morale is determined by a web of many threads, such as danger, anxiety about family, pay and conditions, etc. But the most important of these factors that determine the spirit of an army is what it is fighting for. That is the \$64 question.

After all, pay and conditions, and other such factors can only be minor to a man who is going out to risk his life. A man doesn't worry too much about the comforts or discomforts of his seat when he is in a speeding train that is heading for derailment. What's he doing it for? That is the question that is on the mind of a man who is going out to do the kind of work that you can't hire people for at any money price.

The U.S. News, weekly Washington magazine, puts its finger on the problem in its April 25 issue. "Throughout the armed forces outside the combat area," it says, hinting that the feeling is not confined to the Air Force, "there are reported to be signs of a letdown as war tensions

lessen and the Korean war drags on in a stalemate. Men who have been forced into service against their will grow restive. Discontent is expressing itself in several ways in the Army and Navy."

"War tensions lessen and the Korean war drags on in a stalemate." The U.S. News here hits upon the political reason for the discontent. It should have added that poll majorities since the very beginning of the Korean war have shown the American people to be overwhelmingly opposed to the invasion of Korea by American troops, calling it a "mistake" and saying the government should never have done it. On April 2, only a few weeks ago, the Gallup poll reported that 51 percent of the American people call the Korean war "a mistake" while only 35 percent say it is justified. There is no reason to believe that the armed forces do not share this sentiment.

The U.S. News makes some further interesting observations. "The U.S. had a taste of something like this just before World War II. Then, National Guard divisions were on a year's active service for training. Before the year was over, there were desertions on a big scale. These troubles ended when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor."

The U.S. News, like most other big-business organs of opinion, is pushing the viewpoint that "lessening of war tensions," "lack of a full scale war," and the approach of possible truce in Korea are the main dangers to the security of American capitalism. The magazine mourns in the same issue: "Americans are not militarily-minded except when there is a full scale war or, as some Pentagon officials see it." And it goes on: "Without a declared war or the apparent threat of one, a good many draftees and reservists are resentful. Thus there are morale problems. In the Air Force, some of these problems are reaching the stage of 'mutiny.'"

The obvious conclusion that the U.S. News and the Pentagon would like to draw is: "Full scale war will solve this problem, along with many other problems of U.S. capitalism." But that is not the solution seen by the Air Force flyers themselves, as we can tell from the papers.

## Notes from the News

**WANT TO BE FIELD SECRETARY** for the NAACP in Florida or North Carolina? The NAACP national office is inviting applications for the job, which involves working with branches, youth councils and college chapters in promoting the NAACP program. "College training or its equivalent is requested," says the announcement. It should have added: And a lot of courage. A similar post in Florida was last held by Harry T. Moore, who was murdered by a bomb last Christmas for his anti-Jim Crow activities.

**SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER's** bid for the Presidency was endorsed by the national convention of the AFL United Textile Workers after the Tennessee Democrat assailed the Taft-Hartley Act. Kefauver also said that he is opposed to a compulsory federal FEPC law.

**THE JURY** trying Captain Franklin B. Weaver for the murder of Negro steward William M. Harvey on an Isbrandtsen cargo ship in the North China Sea last autumn was deadlocked and unable to reach a verdict at the trial in New York. Another trial will be held.

**THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** has approved an amendment to public housing legislation which would prevent the use of government funds for any housing with a tenant belonging to a member of an organization on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist. Government officials are hoping the amendment will be removed by the Senate because its passage would make it difficult to sell housing bonds.

**NO MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATE** for President has shown "any genuine concern for civil rights," the Southern conference of the NAACP, meeting in Atlanta, declared last week. A conference statement criticized Eisenhower, Taft, Warren, Kefauver, Kerr and Russell for their stands on FEPC and other Negro rights issues.

**MME. TAMAKI UYEMURA**, most prominent woman leader in Japan, wants Gen. Ridgway to bar U.S. servicemen from Japanese brothels and to "isolate immoral U.S. troops" responsible for increasing prostitution to the point where it is a \$200,000,000 a year business. "This is a big business — next to the Korean war business which totals \$400,000,000 a year in Japan," says Mme. Uyemura.

**THREE BIG ARMS PLANTS** — the H-Bomb installation at Aiken, S.C., the Lockheed Aircraft Co. at Marietta, Ga., and the Naval Ordnance Plant at Indianapolis — are guilty of racial discrimination in employment, NAACP officials charged before a Senate subcommittee holding hearings on FEPC legislation.

**THE AFL AND THE CIO**, in a joint statement, criticized the U.S. government for helping to prevent a discussion of the Tunisian question before the UN Security Council. "The American labor movement can only condemn such a policy of neutrality, which is not neutrality but, in reality, is an implied endorsement of the undemocratic practices of the French colonial government in Tunisia," the statement declared, urging the U.S. government to reverse its position and support "genuine home rule" for the Tunisians.

**LAST MONTH** the state committee of the Progressive Party in the state of Washington unanimously opposed selection of a presidential slate at this time because they want the door left open for the party to support some other candidate if possible. The committee sent its secretary, Thomas Rabbitt, to present this point of view to the national party conference in Chicago on March 30. Rabbitt returned and gave a report to a meeting in Seattle on April 5, but he never even mentioned the state committee position or how it was handled (if at all) at the conference.

VOLUME XVI

MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1952

NUMBER 17

# THE MILITANT

## Illinois SWP Leads Campaign In Defense of Free Elections

### Stalinists Reject United Action in Ballot Ban Fight

CHICAGO — The Illinois Stalinist movement has been left floundering by the strong Socialist Workers Party challenge to Law 1030.

When the SWP proposed united action by working-class and left-wing parties and groupings against this reactionary law, the Communist Party did not even acknowledge receipt of the letter. The Progressive Party replied, expressing interest, but declined to unite its efforts with those of the SWP in the building of a broad protest movement. They also refused to combine forces in the court fight on Law 1030.

#### SEPARATE SUIT

The Progressive Party has instituted a separate suit against the law. It has filed a case in a rural county, not in the name of the party, but in the name of an individual not publicly associated with the PP. They have made no effort to publicize the case, nor to win public support for it, relying completely on the decision of the court.

Despite the bravado in the Illinois edition of the Stalinist Worker, which speaks of a campaign to raise \$20,000 to assure the place of the Progressive Party on the Illinois ballot, there is as yet no concrete sign of PP electoral activity.

They have, however, given some indications as to their real line. They have promised support to so-called "peace candidates" on the Republican and Democratic tickets. In the April 8 primary, five Stalinist-sponsored "peace" candidates ran for places on the Republican and Democratic slates. In the printed programs of these candidates, only a single phrase

### Demand 40-Hour Week



Picket line outside a Western Union office in Chicago where members of the AFL Telegraphers Union are supporting the national strike of 31,000 members. The walkout began April 3 to enforce demand for a reduction of the work week from 48 to 40 hours with no reduction in weekly pay. The company rejected the union's offer of arbitration and the union turned down the company's bid for a 60-day truce.

about war appears. They ran as "workingmen with the support of business organizations."

The hesitant and opportunist tactics of the Stalinists has given rise to confusion in their own ranks. Roosevelt College Young Progressives and Labor Youth League, both traditionally Stalinist dominated, have backed the Socialist Workers Party fight against Law 1030. Many individual Stalinists and Progressive Party members have shown sympathy with it.

The failure of the Stalinists to launch a real fight on Law 1030, or to participate in the SWP

fight, is in glaring contrast to the sweep of the SWP campaign. The Citizens Committee against Law 1030 is carrying on a very successful campaign to enlist union, liberal and student support for the SWP court case which names as defendants all the leading state officials and police chiefs in the 10 largest Illinois cities and state's attorneys in 10 counties.

The result is that the SWP has been able to rouse a movement of opposition to the anti-civil liberties actions of the state administration, while the Stalinists remain on the outside.

### Labor, Liberal Groups Back Suit Challenging Law 1030

CHICAGO, Apr. 22 — The fight against the witch hunt in Illinois now centers around the attempt of the Socialist Workers Party to have Law 1030 declared unconstitutional. This law, passed at the last session of the Legislature by bi-partisan agreement of the McCormick Republicans and the so-called "liberal" Democrats, and signed by "New Deal" Governor Stevenson, makes it a crime to solicit signatures on election petitions for state-wide office outside the county of residence of the collector.

In other words, Illinois citizens can be thrown into prison for walking across a county line and asking someone to sign a petition.

The case of the Socialist Workers Party which challenges this law will be heard in Federal Court on May 5. A three-judge court was ordered upon the motion of SWP attorney M. J. Myer that substantial constitutional questions are involved.

#### ACLU PARTICIPATES

The American Civil Liberties Union appeared today before Judge Michael L. Igoe and got permission to enter the case of the SWP and file a brief as amicus curiae, "a friend of the court." The ACLU is interested in challenging the constitutionality of Law 1030.

The action of the SWP has provided organized resistance to this law, and won increasing support for the case. A Citizens Committee Against Law 1030, composed of CIO and AFL unionists, university professors and liberals, has been organized to mobilize public support for the suit.

Student committees formed at Roosevelt College and the Univer-

sity of Chicago have gotten a good response. The Roosevelt Torch and the Chicago Maroon, official student newspapers, have condemned Law 1030 and called for support to the campus committees. At Roosevelt College the Young Progressive Association and the Laor Youth League have endorsed the case.

#### UNION SUPPORT

The trade union movement has shown an understanding that a restriction of the right to petition is a threat to the life of the union movement. Locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Auto Workers, Retail, Textile and Transport Service in the CIO, and in Building Service, Butcher Workmen, Basic Processors and Railway Carmen of the AFL have passed resolutions supporting the case and made financial contributions.

The American Civil Liberties Union, and the Independent Voters of Illinois (state section of the Americans for Democratic Action) have joined the fight against the law. The ACLU has voted to call a conference of all minority parties to coordinate the fight.

This battle against Law 1030 by the Socialist Workers Party has raised the consciousness of broad sections of the population in the fight for the preservation of democratic rights. People all over the state have become acquainted with the case and the SWP in the publicity given to the case. The Decatur Herald editorialized against the law. The Chicago Sun Times (circulation 600,000) reprinted this editorial. The AP and UP wire stories on the case were carried by a good section of the state's press.

## Demonstrations Protest Brutal Prison Conditions

By George Breitman

**NEWARK** — Anybody who is moved by courageous resistance against social injustice will feel sympathy and admiration for the New Jersey prisoners who have organized four demonstrations of protest against intolerable conditions in less than a month.

Because the first two demonstrations were brutally broken and the participants savagely beaten, the 69 prisoners who seized the Trenton State Prison print shop on April 15 also held four guards as hostages. This enabled them to escape tear gas and fire hose attacks such as had subdued the previous demonstrations.

On the first day they set up a committee to meet with State Institutions and Agencies Commissioner Sanford Bates. At their insistence two reporters, including one from the Associated Press, were present.

#### INHUMAN CONDITIONS

The committee spokesman was William Dickens, who has served five years of a 12 to 21 year sentence for robbery. His statements showed that New Jersey prison conditions, claimed to be among the best in the country, are inhuman and degrading.

His first complaint dealt with the brutal treatment of those who joined previous demonstrations. "One colored man was beaten from the top of his head to the soles of his feet," he said.

Bates replied, "We had to get them out," and promised there would be no corporal punishment if the men surrendered. "There won't be bloodshed unless you try to force us out," Dickens said. "We know what we will face if they force us out."

#### OLD AND CROWDED

The next complaint was overcrowding. The authorities admit that the 1,350 inmates are 200 "above capacity." Prisoners are jammed into a single city block, two or three occupying cells built for one. Parts of the structure are over 100 years old.

A major issue is parole practices. "The parole board won't talk to us. We have to tell our story to a clerk. . . Many men

are forced to serve maximum sentences when they are eligible for earlier release" (because of time off they are supposed to get for good behavior).

"The food is terrible. Why can't the men get good food? The mess hall here is not a mess hall. We've had committees here in the past, but the warden wouldn't talk to the men."

#### WANT WARDEN OUSTED

They want the removal of the warden, William Carty, a former guard who "still acts like a guard, not an administrator." Carty, appointed a year ago, imposed a new brand of "discipline" which the Newark News says "reversed the long-time trend under which prisoners run the institution."

"You know all you ask can't be granted," Bates said. "We're not asking for no hotel, only a prison run like the federal prisons," Dickens retorted.

A major demand was an investigation of the entire prison by the Osborne Association, a penal welfare group. Other complaints were:

There is no school at the prison; recreational facilities are lacking; high prices in the prison store ("we have to pay 91c. a pound for coffee"); inadequate bedding; poor sanitation; the mixing of young boys with hardened criminals. "And this is the only prison that maintains a 'hole,' where big rats come running out in the cells all the time." The "hole" is a tier of solitary confinement cells.

#### PROTEST BEATINGS

Bates admitted "misunderstandings" but said they could be talked over with a committee. "What about the beatings?" Dickens asked angrily. "Why don't you supersede Carty right now? You have the power. We had a committee a few months ago. He said he wouldn't recognize the committee. He called out the jailhouse rats and they ruined the committee."

The 69 held out for three days despite lack of food and water, and got wide public attention to their complaints. They surrendered after being promised there would be no beatings, and the

Osborne Association would be invited in.

The same day 232 inmates of the Rahway State Prison Farm, 40 miles away, seized a dormitory and nine guards. They flew bed-sheet banners with complaints duplicating those at Trenton, including the charge of mass beatings. They managed to hold out for five days, by which time a similar rebellion had begun in Michigan.

#### DESERVE SUPPORT

Such militancy and courage deserve support. "We know we're making a sacrifice, but we think we're right," Dickens said. Most people don't realize just how much of a sacrifice it is to be deprived of the pitifully few "privileges" afforded to prisoners — to say nothing about loss of time off for "good behavior," the possibility of severe beatings, confinement in the "hole," etc. Those who have some knowledge about prison conditions know that conditions must have been extremely bad to have goaded the prisoners into taking such risks.

Only one labor leader in the state has spoken up on this situation so far — Lewis H. Hermann of the AFL printing trades. His main point was that the prisoners working in the two prison print shops turn out \$500,000 worth of work each year for state agencies, getting around five cents an hour.

Prison-labor standards are a proper concern of the labor movement but not the only one. All labor and liberal organizations have the duty to intervene on the side of the convicts in their struggle against inhuman conditions. Most prisoners come from the working class and their imprisonment is usually the result of social conditions over which they have no control, or of police and judicial corruption, incompetence or discrimination.

#### USE LABOR TECHNIQUES

The prisoners instinctively used labor techniques — strike, bargaining committee, publicity. A labor leadership equipped with nothing more than a sense of solidarity would instinctively come to their support.

## THE RIGHT TO VOTE AGAINST WAR IN 1952

An Editorial

The fight against the reactionary restriction of the right to petition contained in Illinois Law 1030 is the fight of every person concerned with defending democratic rights.

It is also the fight of every person who wants to have the chance to vote against the war-policy of the Washington administration. The case against Law 1030 arose out of the campaign of the Illinois SWP to place the names of Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, socialist anti-war candidates for U.S. President and Vice-President, on the Illinois ballot. The new Illinois law makes this virtually impossible.

New reactionary ballot restrictions are arising all over the country. In Ohio, the petition requirements have been boosted to impossible levels. In Michigan, the Trucks police state law says that parties which have a political program not approved by the powers that be can't get on the ballot. In Illinois, you can't cross a county line to get petition signatures. Elsewhere, laws of a similar intent are being enacted or considered.

While the form of the laws vary from state to state, the purpose is everywhere the same. This purpose was clearly expressed, in an unwary moment, by the Michigan State elections director, who said: "We must see that no organization inclined towards socialism is given a place on the ballot."

The Illinois Socialist Workers Party has launched a campaign against this trend, and to secure a place on the ballot. In order to do this, it is challenging Law 1030 in the courts and before public opinion. It announces further that, whether it wins this fight or not, the SWP will run candidates for office in Illinois in '52.

Socialism and the anti-war ticket will fight for its place on the ballot, and will give people in every possible state the chance to vote against the war drive and for a new social order.

## MAY DAY RALLIES

### NEW YORK

Speakers:

**Joseph Andrews**  
**Gladys Barker**  
**Anne Mann**

Chairman:  
**Michael Bartell**

Malin Studios  
225 W. 46th Street  
Thur., May 1, at 8 PM

### NEWARK

Speaker:

**Joseph Andrews**  
Associate Editor, *The Militant*

Social and  
Refreshments

423 Springfield

Sat., May 3, at 9 PM

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party